

THE ABOLITIONIST.

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MRS. CHILD'S APPEAL.

An Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans. By Mrs. Child. Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. 12 mo. pp. 232.

We heard a few months since with great satisfaction that Mrs. Child was engaged in preparing a work on slavery. We felt sure that any thing which she should write on the subject, would exert a beneficial and powerful moral influence on the public mind. It is but justice to say, that the high anticipations which we had formed of the merits of Mrs. Child's book, have been more than realized by its perusal. That it will do great good, we feel entire confidence. The great difficulty with which abolitionists in this country, have hitherto had to contend, has been that very few have been willing to give them a fair hearing. The cultivated and refined at the north, having taken for granted the comfortable doctrine that slavery was an evil with which they had nothing to do, have listened to the arguments of its opposers, with the same feelings of impatience and disgust with which they read the soiled and thumbworn petitions and certificates of strolling beggars. But the work of an author of established reputation, one whose writings they have been accustomed to admire, cannot be condemned without examination. She must be heard.

The nature of this volume may be judged of by the following table of the contents of the chapters. That we may not seem so uncritical as to see no fault in the volume, we venture to suggest that such a table ought to have preceded the body of the work.

Chapter I. *Brief history of Slavery.—Its inevitable effect upon all concerned in it.*

Chap. II. *Comparative view of Slavery in different ages and nations.*

Chap. III. *Free Labor and Slave Labor.—Possibility of safe Emancipation.*

Chap. IV. *Influence of Slavery on the Politics of the United States.*

Chap. V. *Colonization Society and Anti-Slavery Society.*

Chap. VI. *Intellect of Negroes.*

Chap. VII. *Moral Character of Negroes.*

Chap. VIII. *Prejudices against People of Color, and our Duties in relation to this subject.*

On every one of these subjects, Mrs. Child has collected useful and interesting information, much of which will be new to most of her readers. It is not, however, only, or chiefly, as a valuable collection of facts that this volume should be recommended. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts are presented with force and directness. The book too is written with great terseness and spirit, and warmed throughout by a glow of benevolent feeling. Yet with all this, upon a subject so exciting as slavery, the author though she expresses her sentiments fearlessly and distinctly, never indulges in mere abuse and railing, and while she makes no sacrifice of principle, or concealment of truth, to conciliate slaveholders and their advocates, she never says any thing merely for the sake of producing irritation. The work throughout is distinguished by kindness and courtesy towards those whose opinions and practices she is compelled to condemn.

It is not very easy to make selections from a volume that contains so much which we should be glad to have placed before all our readers. The following passage, however, shows the ability with which the author reasons, and also exhibits the sound sense and strong moral feeling which pervade the volume. After having related some instances of atrocious cruelties inflicted on slaves, she continues:

'I shall be told that such examples as these are of rare occurrence; and I have no doubt that instances of excessive severity are far from being common. I believe that a large proportion of masters are as kind to their slaves as they can be, consistently with keeping them in bondage; but it must be allowed that this, to make the best of it, is very stinted

kindness. And let it never be forgotten that the negro's fate depends entirely on the character of his master; and it is a mere matter of chance whether he fall into merciful or unmerciful hands; his happiness, nay, his very life, depends on chance.

The slave owners are always telling us, that the accounts of slave misery are abominably exaggerated; and their plea is supported by many individuals, who seem to think that charity was made to *cover* sins, not to *cure* them. But without listening to the zealous opposers of slavery, we shall find in the judicial reports of the Southern States, and in the ordinary details of their newspapers, more than enough to startle us; besides, we must not forget that where one instance of cruelty comes to our knowledge, hundreds are kept secret; and the more public attention is awakened to the subject, the more caution will be used in this respect.

Why should we be deceived by the sophistry of those whose interest it is to gloss over iniquity, and who from long habit have learned to believe that it is no iniquity? It is a very simple process to judge rightly in this matter. Just ask yourself the question, where you could find a set of men, in whose power you would be willing to place yourself, if the laws allowed them to sin against you with impunity?

But it is urged that it is the interest of planters to treat their slaves well. This argument no doubt has some force; and it is the poor negro's only security. But it is likewise the interest of men to treat their cattle kindly; yet we see that passion and short-sighted avarice do overcome the strongest motives of interest. Cattle are beat unmercifully, sometimes unto death; they are ruined by being over-worked; weakened by want of sufficient food; and so forth. Besides, it is sometimes directly *for* the interest of the planter to work his slaves beyond their strength. When there is a sudden rise in the prices of sugar, a certain amount of labor in a given time is of more consequence to the owner of a plantation, than the price of several slaves; he can well *afford* to waste a few lives. This is no idle hypothesis—such calculations are gravely and openly made by planters. Hence, it is the slave's prayer that sugars may be cheap. When the negro is old, or feeble from incurable disease, is it his master's *interest* to feed him well, and clothe him comfortably? Certainly not: it then becomes desirable to get rid of the human brute as soon as convenient. It is a common remark, that it is not quite safe, in most cases, for even parents to be entirely dependent on the generosity of their children; and if human nature be such, what has the slave to expect, when he becomes a mere bill of expense?

It is a common retort to say that New-Englanders, who go to the South, soon learn to

patronise the system they have considered so abominable, and often become proverbial for their severity. I have not the least doubt of the fact; for slavery contaminates all that comes within its influence. It would be very absurd to imagine that the inhabitants of one State are worse than the inhabitants of another, unless some peculiar circumstances, of universal influence, tend to make them so. Human nature is every where the same; but developed differently, by different excitements and temptations. It is the business of wise legislation to discover what influences are most productive of good, and the least conducive to evil. If we were educated at the South, we should no doubt vindicate slavery, and inherit as a birthright all the evils it engrafts upon the character. If they lived on our rocky soil, and under our inclement skies, their shrewdness would sometimes border upon knavery, and their frugality sometimes degenerate into parsimony. We both have our virtues and our faults, induced by the influences under which we live, and, of course, totally different in their character. Our defects are bad enough; but they cannot, like slavery, affect the destiny and rights of millions.

All this mutual recrimination about horse-jockeys, gamblers, tin-pedlars, and venders of wooden nutmegs, is quite unworthy of a great nation. Instead of calmly examining this important subject on the plain grounds of justice and humanity, we allow it to degenerate into a mere question of *sectional* pride and vanity. [Pardon the Americanism, would we had less *use* for the word!] It is the *system*, not the *men*, on which we ought to bestow the full measure of abhorrence. If we were willing to forget ourselves, and could, like true republicans, prefer the common good to all other considerations, there would not be a slave in the United States, at the end of half a century.

The arguments in support of slavery are all hollow and deceptive, though frequently very specious. No one thinks of finding a foundation for the system in the principles of truth and justice; and the unavoidable result is, that even in *policy* it is unsound. The monstrous fabric rests on the mere *appearance* of present expediency; while, in fact, all its tendencies individual and national, present and remote, are highly injurious to the true interests of the country. The slave owner will not believe this. The stronger the evidence against his favorite theories, the more strenuously he defends them. It has been wisely said, 'Honesty is the best policy; but policy without honesty never finds that out.'

I hope none will be so literal as to suppose I intend to say that no planter can be honest, in the common acceptation of that term. I simply mean that all who ground their arguments in policy, and not in duty and plain truth, are really blind to the highest and best interests of man.'

[For the Abolitionist.]

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN C, A COLONIZATIONIST, AND A, AN
ABOLITIONIST, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Concluded.)

C. You undertook to convince me that the Northern people can act practically in the matter of negro slavery. I presume you hardly venture to say that Congress has power to decree emancipation; if you do, I refer you to the letter of Daniel Webster, lately published, on the subject.

A. I agree perfectly with Mr. Webster. There can be no doubt that our Legislatures, can make no law whatever to compel a slaveholder, in another State, to emancipate, or even to abstain from murdering, his slaves, and that Congress is equally powerless in this respect. But yet Congress can do much; and so can the Legislatures, and so can the people. I call it a strictly practical object, to prepare an engine by means of which great effects are to be produced. Now, public sentiment is all powerful; and if it can be so excited as to bear with its immense weight upon this question, the effect must be great and practical. The publications which prepared the minds of the colonists for the revolutionary struggle, were not less practical than the actual military effects that were prompted by them. The force of truth and moral suasion, over an intelligent people, can hardly be overrated, and should never be disdained.

C. But if the suasion is to be addressed only to the Southern people, it ought at least, to be more gentle, if it is to be effectual.

A. It is not addressed only, or chiefly, to the Southern people. We have no objection to their hearing us, and no wish to exasperate them—but we care not for their anger. To say less than the truth, would be unworthy of us as freemen; and if the truth plainly spoken gives offence, the fault must be in the hearers, not in the speakers. I am ashamed of my country and amazed at its degeneracy when I hear it said that truths, undeniable truths, ought to be suppressed or only whispered with closed doors, for fear of giving offence! Such was not the principle on which our fathers acted, or the revolution could never have occurred.

C. But is it wise to irritate and alienate the Southern people by needless repetition of reproaches?

A. It is wise always to assert our rights, by words and practice. The rights of speech and of the press are infinitely more valuable than the fame to be gained or preserved, by yielding them up to arrogance and pride. It would reduce us to the condition of slaves, to be prohibited from speaking the truth, when, where, and how we please. When Napoleon complained to the British government, of the abusiveness of the London newspapers, the answer he received was that the press was *free*, but if he was libelled, the courts were open to him for redress. Are we less free than the British? And are not our courts open to any slaveholder who is injured? We shrink from no responsibility; seek no concealment. The northern people owe it to their own dignity and independence, to treat with *scorn* all anger which is produced by the exercise of our just rights.

C. But does the irritation that you occasion help forward the object at all? Does it not obviously cause the blacks to be more rigorously treated than ever?

A. The irritation neither helps nor hinders, or if it does hinder that is no reason for giving up our consciences. The Temperance Society gave offence to many, but that was unavoidable, and has not hindered the immense benefits of its operations. When, a few years since, some of the Middle States passed resolutions offering to concur in giving up the whole of the public lands for the purpose of purchasing the slaves from their bondage, was not the proposition generous and kind, and entitled to the thanks of the North?

C. It was silly perhaps, but certainly generous; and has been revived, in part, by the land-bill which the President lately *vetoed*.

A. Well, what was the conduct of the Southern States? They treated the project as an impertinence—an offensive intermeddling in their affairs. Now it is plain that irritability so morbid deserves no consideration. There will be scolding; but are we to be frightened because they make faces at us? No reformation of conduct, or sentiment, ever was, or will be effected, without offence being given. The truth will, nevertheless, reach some hearts and produce its legitimate effect. The fact is that, already, some slaveholders have been convinced, and have been induced to emancipate their slaves. Emancipation by last wills, is also more frequent. In the prospect of death conscience has great power. To

bring truth home to the conscience is, therefore, an important and a practical object.

C. These are, then, the modes in which the northern people can act practically in these matters.

A. This is not all. The whole subject branches out into various considerations. But in discussing any and all of them, it is requisite to get rid of the bug-bear of southern irritation, and also to shake off the delusions of that timidity which dreads to look at the plain truth and to speak it.

C. Suppose, then, I grant that the anger of the South ought not to be regarded, and that truth is at all times to be spoken, (notwithstanding the proverb,) then what follows?

A. Then as freemen, and Americans, and Christians, it is incumbent on us to look at our actual condition, and see in what degree we are accessaries to the crime of holding our fellow men in chains, and subjecting them to a cruel oppression. It is our duty to inquire what we can do lawfully, and not inconsistently with our political or moral obligations, to right this grievous wrong, or to mitigate its barbarity. It is our duty to see whether we are not doing more to aid an iniquitous oppression, than our political relations require of us. These inquiries involve many questions of expediency in local as well as national legislation, which, if we are not ourselves in bondage, we have the same right to discuss, to suggest, or to present to the minds of others, as we have to discuss the tariff, the bank, or the charter of a rail-road company.

C. I must say that these views are strange to me. Is not our condition merely that of a bystander; and does not the Constitution forbid our active interference?

A. By no means. When the Constitution was formed, a spirit of compromise prevailed, but whether it was carried too far I need not say. Let it stand, but if the bond gives to the slaveholders unreasonable advantages, (in the slave representation and other matters) let them make the best of their bargain, but not seek to exceed its terms. We have a right to say that Shylock shall have his pound of flesh, 'but not a drop of blood.' The northern people yielded much and enough to the necessity of the crisis; but they could not be induced to admit the word, slave or slavery into the Constitution. They agreed however that 'persons held to labor or service' escaping into another State should be 'delivered up on

claim of the person to whom the service or labor may be due.' Well, this is the Constitution—but the southern people are said to desire much more than the bond, and shocking abuses, never contemplated as consequences of the concession, are told of, as practiced under this provision. Have we not a right to see whether it be really so? In many of the States legislative enactments have been added to facilitate the restoration of slaves to their chains. The claim, as a preliminary, is dispensed with. But these statutes were fair subjects of discussion; and being all liable to repeal or amendment, they are still perfectly legitimate subjects of our consideration. Now if the whole matter is exclusively of southern cognizance, we have no right to discuss the enactment or repeal of one of our own statutes; and our legislature has only, like the old Parliament of France, to register the edicts of a master.

C. I admit the propriety of discussing our own statutes. Indeed no one can doubt it.

A. But our friends, the slaveholders, are afraid, if we discuss any thing that has the word slave or the word freedom in it. However, this is one only, of several such matters equally within our proper cognizance. The Constitution also permitted Congress to prohibit the slave trade after 1808, or in terms, 'the migration or importation of such persons as the states shall think proper to admit.' Congress did accordingly prohibit the external slave trade, and the bill was surely a fair subject of remark both during its pendency and after its passage, in all parts of the country. But the prohibition of the internal trade or 'migration' is equally before the whole nation as a question of expediency,—and any man or any Society has a perfect right to propose and recommend it. Shall it be said that we of the north have not the same right with those of the south, to discuss a question of national expediency and constitutional law? Why certainly our southern fellow citizens are bewildered when they say it. And our own neighbors are strangely misled when they give their assent to the adoption.

C. That would, at all events, be a matter for Congress, and may as well be left there.

A. But Congress represents the people of the north as well as the south, and the constituents have a certain right to discuss the conduct of their representatives, both as to what they have done, and what they have

omitted to do. There is, therefore, perfect propriety in our discussing the subject of slavery in all its aspects. But further: the Constitution also guarantees each state 'against domestic violence.' Now let us consider what was the undertaking at the time. Surely it is fair to argue that it was the tacit agreement that the slaveholding states should do all that humanity dictates, consistent with slave property, to ameliorate the condition of the 'persons held to labor:' at least, that they should be treated as persons not as brutes. Well, but if it be true, that the slaves are far worse treated than they were;—that marriage is not allowed,—[the institution that so much distinguishes man from beasts]—that instruction in religion is withheld—no protection to life afforded—no restraint on cruelty provided;—if, in short, the slaveholders do not perform their part of the contract, may we not question whether we are bound to comply with ours? At all events, these circumstances or any others may fairly be urged as reasons for amending the Constitution, by striking out those words which now bind us to support the slaveholder, in a more cruel treatment of his slaves than is permitted to slaveholders under the British, French, Spanish or Portuguese governments.

C. It will be difficult to prove the fact. I do not believe it.

A. The question is, whether we have a right to inquire into the fact; the slaveholders say we have no right to meddle with the subject, but I contend that our Constitution guarantees our right to amend it, of course to propose and discuss amendments, and therefore to examine the facts that supply a motive for an amendment.

C. An amendment of the Constitution is out of the question, against the will of the slaveholding states.

A. Not entirely out of the question; we ought not to suppose it. The presumption should be in their favor, that they would not all be opposed to it. But there is another consideration. Congress have the sole and absolute regulation of the District of Columbia. Our members have repeatedly had occasion to vote on resolutions introduced there, having in view the breaking up of the slave market, now kept open under the very shadow of the Capitol. In all questions upon which representatives vote, we, the constituents, have a right to enlighten and inform them. We have

also a right to make our wishes known. We have therefore a full right to discuss the subject of slavery as it exists at the seat of our national government. It is no question of exclusively southern cognizance; and we are just as responsible for the continuance of slavery at the seat of government, and for the abuses and cruelties that attend it, (which are shocking,) as the southern people are. In what one point of view, therefore, can the subject of slavery and its evils be said to belong exclusively to the south?

C. In respect to immediate emancipation. You grant that we cannot effect it by persuasion. And also in regard to the treatment of the slaves.

A. But in pursuing the object by persuasion, we have a right to say that if they will not shew any intention to emancipate or to improve the condition of the slaves, we will do our best to eradicate slavery from the District of Columbia—and from Florida—which may be done without persuasion; and that we will not facilitate the restoration of fugitives beyond the letter of the Constitution;—and that we will not hold ourselves bound to assist in quelling domestic violence which they have provoked by needless severity. And we may and we ought to continue the cry of 'shame—shame' upon them, until they render their slave-code at least equal in justice and mercy to that of despotic Portugal or Spain. But there is still another matter that is, beyond all doubt, within our own domestic notice. The influence of slavery is such that our own people are infected, and there is danger of our returning to the slave trade again. In Illinois the project has been very seriously entertained of introducing slavery. In Connecticut the legislature has prohibited, under penalties, the giving instruction to colored persons. Whence comes the impetus for this retrograde movement? How is it that Connecticut has been disgraced by a statute making the communication of knowledge a penal offence? How must public sentiment be vitiated when it can bear such an outrage on humanity! It is a crime in Connecticut to cultivate human intellect, and pour moral instruction into an immortal soul! There is no difficulty in saying how this comes. The notion has been broadly asserted in the south and has been imbibed here, that colored men are not 'persons held to labor,' but brute animals, creatures below

humanity. The quietists of our land—those who exclaim against our Society, and cry ‘peace, peace, when there is no peace’—connive at this monstrous doctrine and encourage it by their passiveness. It is time for these Christians, patriots and friends of humanity to wake up and—

C. Ah! you are making an oration now;—I’ll hear no more. [And he went off without giving A. a chance to finish his sentence.]

THE PLEA OF JUSTICE.

[Concluded from our last.]

From the absolute right of the slaves to their liberty, the absolute obligation of masters individually to liberate them has been inferred, and equally absolute is the obligation upon slave-holding states, to render equal justice to all, to restore those rights which have been invaded, and to protect blacks as well as whites in the free exercise of every right. Nor can any view of the interests or supposed rights of the masters be a just cause for continuing to violate the rights of the slaves. Perhaps those governments which have sanctioned slavery may be thought to owe some compensation, when in rendering justice to one class of persons, it takes from another class what its own laws have regarded as their property; but there can be no pretence of justice in satisfying the masters at the expense of the slaves. The claim of the masters against the government, if they have any claim, is such as one partner in a robbery would have against another who, recovering his sense of honesty, should insist upon restoring their booty. Whatever engagements they may have entered into with each other, the whole transaction being founded in iniquity, it might be a difficult matter for equity to decide in what way these engagements should be fulfilled, or the compensation which the repentant partner would owe to the other; but leaving that question to be settled between themselves, his obligation not to keep the purloined property from the right owner, is in the mean time indisputable, and no way connected with the decision of the other point.

But the grand objection to restoring the slaves at once to the exercise of their rights, and certainly the most plausible, is the supposed danger of such a measure. It would be madness, it is said, to let loose upon society such a multitude of ignorant and irritated beings who would be intoxicated by the liberty to which they are unaccustomed, and would be withheld by no principle from any outrage to which their passions or necessities might incite them. To retain them in their present condition is wickedness and madness both. Is there not danger now? What is it that is the chief source of danger to the whites, but the hostile feeling naturally ex-

cited by oppression? Were they to cease from this oppression, and ‘let the oppressed go free,’ would not the disposition to commit violence and injury be from that moment diminished in a far greater degree than the power to do it would be increased? Could the danger from the freed blacks be greater, than the danger which actually exists, from the oppressed and enslaved blacks? Could any evils resulting from the most unconditional emancipation, made without a single precaution, be far greater than the actual evils of the present most lamentable state of things, most lamentable considered in relation to the whites alone, including as it does, constant suspicion, constant fear of insurrection, injury to their own moral and intellectual character, and the gradual debasement of their moral sense—and in prospect, the growth and increase of all these evils, until interrupted by some tremendous revolution. Must not a slaveholder tremble at the very sound of the words freedom, right, or justice, lest they fall upon the ear, and kindle a flame in the mind of some one of those who are debarr’d from freedom, whose rights are violated, and whom justice does not protect? What evils are likely to result from emancipation greater than these? Though no longer slaves, would not the blacks still continue in the condition of laborers? What else could they do? They have no lands, no possessions, and must procure subsistence in some mode. Ignorant as they may be, they are not ignorant that there are laws for the protection of property, and against robbery and other crimes, and that there is power to enforce these laws. Nor would the laws have lost their power, nor could there be any hindrance to making new laws, and taking every measure of vigilance and precaution adapted to the emergency when this great act of justice was about to be accomplished.

But suppose that the danger from emancipation is all that it has been represented to be. Yet the enslaved persons have a right to their freedom. What is to be done? Does the fear of possible consequences to ourselves render it lawful for us to inflict certain and enormous injuries on others? Does our fear or our danger destroy *their* rights? or absolve us from guilt if we violate those rights? Because a man has inflicted one outrage upon his neighbor, does he acquire a right to repeat it, that he may deprive him of the power of expressing his resentment? It is only wrong doing that can bring men into such perplexity, that no course of conduct seems open to them which is not fraught with danger. A continuance in crime will only involve them deeper, but will never bring them out of it. No, when they awake to a sense of their situation, let them manfully resolve to act right, whatever may be the consequences. The simple rule of right will guide

them out of the labyrinth, but no calculation of consequences ever will.

A gradual emancipation is thought by some persons to be the just and happy medium, the measure which provides at once for the safety of the community, the rights of the slaves, the interests of the masters, and the final cure of the dreadful evil of slavery. If we might admit for a moment the rectitude of thus delaying justice, the rectitude of thus making reparation for grievous wrong *gradually*, yet at least the duty is absolute and undeniable, if not of emancipating immediately, yet of doing *something* immediately, of taking some measures *now* which shall lead to emancipation. Every moment's needless delay is adding to the amount of crime. But may we admit the rectitude of this principle? To provide for the emancipation of all born after a certain time is making no reparation to the present generation for their wrongs. To restore him to his natural rights at some future time will be no compensation to any individual for the time during which he has been debared their exercise. It would be infinitely better than doing nothing, but it would not be all which justice requires. 'Personal freedom,' it was said by Charles Fox, 'was the first right of every human being. It was a right of which he who deprived a fellow creature, was absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which he who withheld was no less criminal in withholding.' If there is danger, use precaution, but why is it that the only measure of safety thought of is the continuance of injustice, continuing to withhold this most sacred right from our fellow creatures. Let every one be vigilant for his own safety, but no longer violate the rights of others through the cowardly fear that by ceasing to do so, he should give them power to injure him.

But the present generation of slaves, it is said, doubtless too truly, are ignorant and degraded, utterly unfit for freedom, and many of them incapable of taking care of themselves. It is the danger to themselves as well as to their masters, that would make the emancipation of these poor creatures wrong. With respect to themselves, it is said, that it would be like leaving so many children to their own discretion and guidance. It would be neither just nor humane, it is said, suddenly to withdraw protection and support from those who have been too long dependant on it to be able to do without it. All this is admitted. But whence arises this degradation and imbecility? From the condition of slavery, in which their lives have been passed. It is this very circumstance which in poses an obligation of justice as well as of benevolence to take care of them, since it is the wrongs they have received which have incapacitated them from taking care of themselves. They who have done the wrong, or in any way par-

ticipated in doing it, are bound to do what they can to repair it. Simply to restore their freedom does not repair it. Surely it would be a very strange conclusion from this, that therefore even freedom may be withheld, and these injured people retained in the very condition which has reduced them to such deplorable imbecility. A more reasonable conclusion is, that something *more* not *less* than freedom is their due. What this more is, may briefly be stated to be, whatever will tend to elevate their moral and intellectual character, and render them soonest capable of providing for their own maintenance and comfort, and, in the mean time, maintenance and comfort provided for the old and helpless, such guidance and assistance to the rest as will not by continuing their habits of dependence be injurious rather than beneficial—whatever, in short, will tend soonest and most effectually to counteract the ill effects of their past condition, and repair the injury which has been done them. This includes, of course, and most especially, education for all who are young enough to be capable of it.

The principle, that freedom alone is not all which is owing to the slaves, has been admitted and acted upon by some individuals.—Among the Quakers, who were among the first in regard to slavery, as on other points, to adopt Christian principles, some persons not only liberated their slaves, although penalties were annexed to manumission, but calculated and paid them a sum of money as due for wages during the time of their slavery.

The rights of the slaves form the main ground and argument for emancipating them. And let it never be forgotten *what* rights those are, not mere abstract rights to some trifling privileges, scarcely missed, if lost, though even such would be sacred—but the dearest and most valuable which belong to our common nature, rights to the most precious blessings of which one human being can deprive another. Can we conceive of any infringement of our rights which would excite in us greater indignation than to have some powerful tyrant assume to control us in every action, to say what we shall do, and where we shall go, and compel us to submit in all things to his will and pleasure? Would not the injury be immeasurably greater, and our indignation greater than if fraud or violence deprived us of our property? Such a wrong as this includes all wrongs. What property is more a man's own than the produce of his own labor? But the slave is compelled to labor, and then the profits of his toil enrich another and not himself. There are more precious things than property? His children are not under his control or protection—another may inflict on them the most unreasonable punishment, and the parent must look on in silence—at the will of another, they may be sent from him, where he will neither see nor

hear from them more. If he does not always feel these things with the keenness which more favored parents would suppose they must necessarily produce, is it not because his enslaved condition has precluded or destroyed the affections naturally belonging to the relation of parent and child, and is not this as great a wrong as any? From all moral and intellectual improvement, from all the highest moral and intellectual pleasures he is debarred. We are sometimes told of the happiness of slaves, but what kind of happiness is it? 'Nothing,' says Edmund Burke, 'can make a happy slave, but a degraded man.' It is his degradation which is the greatest wrong of all. What, indeed, is left to the slave, but barely the right to breathe and exist? If more is granted to him, it is granted as a favor, not acknowledged as a right.

The bare assumption of such an unrighteous dominion over human beings, however leniently exercised, should excite our indignation, as it would do were the case our own. Justice would make it the imperative duty of masters to restore freedom to their slaves, though the loss of freedom were a slight evil. But some consideration of the degree and nature of the wrong, of the misery and degradation produced, may be necessary to excite in others any sympathy for the wronged, and any apprehension that *they* have duties in relation to them. One man may injure another to some trifling extent, and his neighbor not feel very loudly called upon to exert himself for his assistance. But when the injury is greater, when the sufferer is in danger of losing his all, when his happiness begins to be deeply affected, then the neighbor is called upon by every principle of humanity to come forward in his behalf, to do all he can to obtain him redress. Nor will the kind and sympathizing neighbor be hasty in deciding that nothing can be done. If he can do nothing by direct interference, if there is no opening for an appeal to the laws, at least he will raise his voice against injustice, at least he will try all that persuasion, or argument, or influence can do to restrain the injurious party. Can any man see a fellow creature oppressed, and innocently withhold the assistance that he has in his power to give? Nor ought the fear of irritating the oppressor to prevent, while at the same time all unnecessary irritation should be most studiously avoided, not from policy, but from a spirit of candor and benevolence, especially if there is reason to believe that he is not aware of the wrong he is doing. Candor requires us to remember that they who hold their fellow creatures in slavery may perhaps honestly believe that they have a right to do so. The deed itself is most iniquitous, the only justification for its perpetrators is their unconsciousness of its criminality. If unavoidable prejudice blinds them, they are guiltless. Not so with those who perceive in

all its horrors the enormity of the injustice, the magnitude of the evil, and yet make no effort to free their fellow creatures from oppression, their country from guilt, and themselves from a passive participation in it; no effort to arouse the slumbering consciences, and remove the film from the blinded understandings of the oppressors.

The consolatory supposition that the great body of the holders of slaves, or at least very many of them, are not aware of the wrong they are doing, is a ground of encouragement for those who believe slaveholding to be essentially criminal to hope for some good by setting forth their own views clearly and forcibly. Good men, who keep slaves because they have never doubted the innocence of so doing, will cease to do so if they can be convinced that it is criminal, and they will not shut their minds against conviction. Of course, argument and remonstrance are of little use when addressed to those who with their eyes open give a preference to what they esteem to be their worldly interest over all considerations of virtue and justice. It has been asserted that no masters are so cruel and oppressive towards their slaves as those persons who remove from places where slavery is not allowed, and become slaveholders. If true, the reason for this is obvious, that no person brought up in the belief that to hold men in slavery is contrary to justice could become a slaveholder himself, unless he were very little under restraint from moral principle of any kind. Such as these are not the persons, on whom the opposers of slavery can hope to make any impression by urging the claims of justice and humanity. But among slaveholders of an opposite character they may hope to find, or soon to make, willing co-operators.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that among the people of the United States when slavery is spoken of, even by those who consider it as an evil, it is the situation of the masters, not of the slaves, which most frequently calls forth the tone of commiseration. It is indeed true, that sin is a greater evil than suffering, and yet in most cases it is the oppressed and not the oppressor who receives sympathy. Slavery may be a greater evil to the masters than to the slaves, but it is to be feared that they who express this opinion, do not always do it exactly in the spirit in which Cowper said,

'I would much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the chains, than fasten them on him.'

Perhaps the best account of this matter is, that all the states are influenced by a similar feeling to that which prompts the different members of a family to pity and excuse the faults of one, and to feel as if their own honor were in some measure indented with his. Perhaps also there is the feeling that they are in some degree sharers in the guilt.

In seeking excuses for the slaveholder, let us beware of obscuring the truth to our own minds, let us not dwell upon the arguments by which he justifies slavery, till we suffer them to influence us, and begin to imagine that they are of some real weight. Let us not look at the subject from the position from which he looks at it, so habitually as to forget that this is not the only position, nor the one most favorable for a correct view. And, again, let us beware that we do not so express ourselves in speaking of the extenuations which there certainly are for his conduct, as to convey the impression that we consider the conduct itself to be almost, if not quite, justifiable. There are but two excuses for wrong doing, into which all others must resolve themselves, namely ignorance and the strength of temptation. The charitable excuser may set these forth in such a manner as to become to all intents and purposes the advocate of crime, as if either of these circumstances altered the intrinsic nature of right and wrong. If we cannot do any positive good in this great cause, let us at least take care to do no harm, let us not lend the weight of our influence, be it much, or be it little, to strengthen those erroneous views by which slavery is upheld. Let us not, even by a casual expression, assist in lowering the standard of morality which is applied to this subject. Finally, let us beware lest there mingle with a desire to be candid to the slaveholders a willingness to excuse our own apathy and inaction, our own want of moral courage to adopt the obnoxious part of opposition to a long established abuse which is upheld by the prejudices and the interests of numbers.

C. J. T.

THREE MONTHS IN JAMAICA.

We add some further extracts from this tract, which we had not room for in our last number.

‘On reaching the estate, [called New Ground,] I was received in the most friendly manner by the overseer, and entertained with West Indian hospitality. This gentleman, after some inquiries as to the state of things in England, began to enlarge on the comfortable condition of the slaves; and, pointing to some negro coopers who were working in the yard, asked if I could perceive any difference between the condition of these slaves and that of English laborers. I owned I could not: they seemed to work with great regularity and apparent good humor.

Immediately afterwards the overseer called out, in a very authoritative tone, ‘Blow shell.’ A large conch shell was then blown by one of the domestic slaves, and in a few minutes four negro drivers made their appearance in front of the house, accompanied by six common negroes. The drivers had each a long staff in his hand, and a large cart-whip coiled

round his shoulders. They appeared to be very stout athletic men. They stood before the hall door, and the overseer put on his hat and went out to them, while I sat at the open window and observed the scene which followed,—having been informed that the other six negroes were to be punished.

When the overseer went out, the four drivers gave him an account, on notched tallies, of their half day’s work, and received fresh orders. The overseer then asked a few questions of the drivers respecting the offences of the six slaves brought up for punishment. No question was asked of the culprits themselves, nor was any explanation waited for. Sentence was instantly pronounced, and instantly carried into execution.

The first was a man of about thirty-five years of age. He was what is called a pen-keeper, or cattle herd; and his offence was having suffered a mule to go astray. At the command of the overseer he proceeded to strip off part of his clothes, and laid himself flat on his belly, his back and buttocks being uncovered. One of the drivers then commenced flogging him with the cart-whip. This whip is about ten feet long, with a short stout handle, and is an instrument of terrible power. It is whirled by the operator round his head, and then brought down with a rapid motion of the arm upon the recumbent victim, causing the blood to spring at every stroke. When I saw this spectacle, now for the first time exhibited before my eyes, with all its revolting accompaniments, and saw the degraded and mangled victim writhing and groaning under the infliction, I felt horror-struck. I trembled, and turned sick: but being determined to see the whole to an end, I kept my station at the window. The sufferer, writhing like a wounded worm, every time the lash cut across his body, cried out, ‘Lord! Lord! Lord!’ When he had received about twenty lashes, the driver stopped to pull up the poor man’s shirt (or rather smock frock), which had worked down upon his galled posteriors. The sufferer then cried, ‘Think me no man? think me no man?’ By that exclamation I understood him to say ‘Think you I have not the feelings of a man?’ The flogging was instantly recommenced and continued; the negro continuing to cry ‘Lord! Lord! Lord!’ till thirty-nine lashes had been inflicted. When the man rose up from the ground, I perceived the blood oozing out from the lacerated and tumefied parts where he had been flogged; and he appeared greatly exhausted. But he was instantly ordered off to his usual occupation.

The next was a young man apparently about eighteen or nineteen years of age. He was forced to uncover himself and lie down in the same mode as the former, and was held down by the hands and feet by four slaves, one of whom was a young man who was himself to be flogged next. This latter was a mulatto.

—the offspring, as I understood, of some European formerly on the estate by a negro woman, and consequently born to slavery. These two youths were flogged exactly in the mode already described, and writhed and groaned under the lash, as if enduring great agony. The mulatto bled most, and appeared to suffer most acutely. They received each thirty-nine lashes. Their offence was some deficiency in the performance of the task prescribed to them. They were both ordered to join their gang as usual in the afternoon at cane-cutting.

Two young women of about the same age were, one after the other, then laid down and held by four men, their back parts most indecently uncovered, and thirty-nine lashes of the blood-stained whip inflicted upon each poor creature's posteriors. Their exclamation likewise was 'Lord! Lord! Lord!' They seemed also to suffer acutely, and were apparently a good deal lacerated. Another woman (the sixth offender) was also laid down and uncovered for the lash; but at the intercession of one of the drivers she was reprieved. The offence of these three women was similar to that of the two young men—some defalcation in the amount of labor.

The overseer stood by and witnessed the whole of this cruel operation, with as much seeming indifference as if he had been paying them their wages. I was meanwhile perfectly unmanned by mingled horror and pity. Yet I have no reason to believe that the *natural* feelings of this young man (whose age did not exceed twenty-four years) were less humane or sensitive than my own. But such is the callousness which constant familiarity with scenes of cruelty engenders. He had been a book-keeper, for four years previously, on another estate belonging to the same proprietors, and had been appointed overseer on this estate only a few months before. His reception of me when I arrived was so kind, frank, and cordial, that I could not have believed him, had I not seen it with my own eyes, to be *capable* of inflicting such cruelty on a fellow-creature.

As soon as this scene was over, the overseer came into the hall, and asked me to drink some rum and water with him. I told him I was sick, and could taste nothing: that I was in fact overwhelmed with horror at the scene I had just witnessed. He said it was not a pleasant duty certainly, but it was an indispensable one; and that I would soon get used, as others did, to such spectacles. I asked if he found it necessary to inflict such punishments frequently. He replied it was uncertain; 'I may not,' he said, 'have to do it again this month, or I may have to do it to-morrow.'

'In week-days the negroes always went to their work before daylight in the morning; on an average about five o'clock or a quarter past five. They left off after dusk, or from a

quarter to half past six in the evening. They had half an hour for breakfast, and sometimes an hour for dinner, but generally not a full hour. During crop, which was proceeding while I was there, they worked in spells the whole of every alternate night; that is to say, the spell that commenced on Monday morning got no sleep till Tuesday night, working all day in the field and all night in the boiling-house.

The sufferings of the slaves from this hard and continuous labor, and from the continual floggings of the drivers to exact it, are severe beyond description. When they are digging cane holes, they generally work all in a row; and it frequently happens that the strong negroes outstrip the weaker ones. Then it is that the drivers (who stand *in front* of the gang in holeing, but *behind* in cane-cutting,) march up to those who have fallen back in their work, and flog them on to further exertion; the drivers being themselves liable to be flogged, if the prescribed work is not duly executed by their gang. I have seen the drivers put down slaves in the field and inflict at their own discretion, from six to twelve lashes with the cart-whip. I have seen them order females to stand at a convenient distance, and flog them as long as they saw fit. I have frequently seen the boatswain (as the driver at the boiling house is called) flog old and young, male and female, in this manner. One night I saw this driver flog a female slave very severely, and one blow which struck her in the face caused her to scream out violently. Upon enquiry I found that this woman had a child in the hot-house (or hospital), and she had ventured to leave her work a little earlier than usual to see her child. For this she received the punishment. On another occasion, I saw this boatswain put down a very handsome brown girl, and give her ten lashes. The overseer was with me at the time, and looked on, without making any remark. Another time I saw the head driver, a very powerful man, give a tremendous cut with the cart-whip to a female about fifty years of age, who was cutting canes with the great gang. The overseer and one of the book-keepers were standing by with me, but neither took the least notice. In fact these floggings were taking place incessantly upon the working negroes; insomuch that I came to this conclusion, after some observation,—that the slaves suffered more in the aggregate from the *driving* in the field than from the severer regular punishments inflicted by order of the overseer and book-keepers. The drivers invariably flog negroes severely who happen to be too late in coming out in the morning; and it frequently happens, that when they oversleep their time, the negroes, for fear of punishment, run away for days or weeks from the estate. When they do return, as they generally do after a short space, it is with the certainty of

encountering a tremendous flogging from the overseer and being condemned to sleep every night in the stocks for weeks running. I have frequently seen six or seven of these runaways turned out of the stocks in a morning, taken to the field to cut canes, and then brought back at night to be again locked in the stocks. The fear of punishment, I was told, was the ordinary cause of their becoming runaways.'

'On conversing with Mr. McLean, (as I frequently did when I first went to New Ground) respecting the extreme severity of the system pursued on that estate, he assured me that he was far from being a harder task-master than other overseers on sugar plantations; and to convince me of this he told me of 'severities' (or rather atrocities) exercised on other estates in the same parish, far beyond any which I witnessed on New Ground. I also heard of extraordinary instances of cruelty from others; and I was told, by a resident in St. Andrew's parish, that the floggings there were more severe than in St. Ann's; switches of the prickly ebony being frequently used after the cart-whip. But I shall not attempt to detail what I learned only by hearsay, although on the evidence of persons implicated in supporting the system. I can only vouch, of course, for what I myself witnessed; and that most assuredly I have rather softened than exaggerated.

The open and avowed licentiousness of the plantation whites disgusted me almost as much as the cruelty of the system. At New Ground, the overseer, book-keepers, and head carpenter, all lived in the habitual practice of gross and unblushing profligacy. The tremendous moral tyranny that may be, and unquestionably often is, exercised in the uncontrolled indulgence of this brutalizing vice, is as obvious as it is appalling. One of the book-keepers voluntarily mentioned to me, that he had had twelve 'negro wives' within six months. I saw another of the whites on this estate give his 'housekeeper' (concubine,) a cruel beating with a supplejack while she was in a state of pregnancy, and for a very trifling fault. For refusing to degrade myself by complying with 'the custom of the country,' as it was lightly termed, in this point, I was looked upon, as I soon perceived, with mingled contempt and suspicion by the plantation whites generally.'

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in this District ought to be constantly kept in mind by all the friends of the colored race. In this object thousands will unite who are opposed to Anti-Slavery Societies. Few men, we believe can be found at the north, who do not regard the toleration of slavery at the seat

of our national government as disgraceful to the country; and, even at the South, many persons who are not prepared to exert themselves to put down this system in their own States, will readily admit that no just cause exists for perpetuating it in the District of Columbia. Nothing, we are confident, is necessary, in order to abolish the national sin and shame, but resolution and activity in the friends of the measure. If all who really have this cause at heart would but put their names to petitions to Congress in favor of the object, they would be astonished at their own numbers, and Congress would not dare refuse to perform a great work of justice and humanity, which was demanded by the great mass of the people.

The following is a petition which is now circulating in this vicinity. It has already received numerous and respectable signatures.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, the petition of the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully represents—

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the evils arising from the existence of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall have power, 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by the cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.' In pursuance of this provision, the States of Maryland and Virginia respectively ceded portions of their territories, which being accepted by Congress, now compose the District of Columbia. By the plain words of the constitution Congress has the power to abolish slavery in this District, and no other body can legislate on the subject.

While our Declaration of Independence boldly proclaims as self-evident truths, 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' at the very seat of government human beings are born almost daily, whom the laws pronounce to be from their birth not equal to other men, and who are for life, deprived of liberty and the free pursuit of happiness.

In addition to the other evils flowing from slavery, both moral and political, which it is needless to specify, circumstances have rendered this District a great market for traders in human flesh. The unhappy victims of this

traffic, are brought into this District in chains, and then lodged in private jails and other places of confinement, from whence they are carried to the markets of the south and west.

The toleration of slavery and the slave trade at the seat of Government, not only produces the most cruel sufferings to those who are legally slaves, but also frequently leads to the enslaving of free people of color, citizens of the United States, some of whom are kidnapped by violence, and others of whom are reduced to hopeless bondage under the forms of law.

From the small number of slaves in the District of Columbia, and the moderate proportion which they bear to the free population there, the difficulties which in most of the slaveholding States, oppose the restoration of this degraded class of men to their natural rights, do not exist in this place. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that Congress will, without delay, enact laws for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that District for the purpose of traffic, in such mode as may be thought advisable, and, whatever measures may be adopted, will also make suitable provision for the education of all free black and colored children in the District, thus to preserve them from continuing even as free men, an unenlightened and degraded caste.'

We earnestly entreat all persons who wish slavery in the District to be abolished, to exert themselves in preparing petitions for this object to be presented at the next session of Congress. Even if the measure should then fail, they will have the satisfaction of having done their duty, and having assisted, in some degree, to effect a great moral reform which must sooner or later be accomplished.

THE BLACK LAW OF CONNECTICUT.

We neglected in our last to mention that Miss Crandall for a violation of this nefarious statute, in continuing to instruct colored children, had been arrested, and carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail to take her trial at the ensuing court. We are informed that she was confined in the same room which was occupied by the murderer Watkins during the last days of his life. In this 'opprobrious den of shame,' however, she only remained one day, her friends finding bail for her on the day after she was committed.

We are glad to perceive that the persecution of this high minded and devoted philanthropist, has excited a burst of indignation from many of the northern editors. And we

acknowledge with pleasure, that even some thorough colonizationists have exhibited the manly and honorable feeling which the brutal persecution of this benevolent lady was well calculated to rouse.

Deeply as we regret the indignities to which Miss Crandall has been exposed, we doubt not that they will advance the great cause of human rights. If we are not mistaken, the violent measures of her unchristian persecutors will open the eyes of many men to their own prejudices against people of color;—make them ashamed of their past injustice,—and anxious to make amends for it by kindness to the victims of their former dislike.

Since the above was written Miss Crandall has been tried, for the offence of instructing colored children, inhabitants of places out of Connecticut. Miss Crandall was defended by Messrs. Ellsworth and Strong, distinguished members of the Connecticut Bar.

The ground of defence was that the colored children in Miss Crandall's school were citizens of other States, and were, therefore, entitled to the protection of the provision of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;—that in order to their protection it was necessary that the law should be considered unconstitutional in its application to Miss Crandall, as long as she instructed none but citizens of the United States. These positions were supported in speeches of great ability. On behalf of the government Messrs. Judson (the Canterbury agitator) and Welsh argued that colored persons were not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution.

The counsel for the defendant informed the jury that they were judges of the law as well as of the facts in the case, and were not bound by the instructions of the court in regard to the law. This position was not disputed on the other side, but the danger of juries setting up their own views of law in opposition to those of the judges was strongly urged.

The court instructed the jury that the law was constitutional.

The jury could not agree in a verdict, and, after having been twice sent out, without agreeing, were discharged.

It was understood that five of the jury were for acquitting, and seven for convicting, the defendant.

The trial produced an intense interest in Brooklyn where it was tried and the vicinity. The arguments of the defendant's counsel produced a deep and powerful impression. It cannot be doubted that this trial will do much in promoting a correct state of public sentiment. We have reason to believe that a full and correct report of the trial will speedily be published.

The firmness of the five jurymen who dared to oppose an unconstitutional law, though supported by the weight of the bench, is highly honorable to them. It shows that there is a large proportion of the people in Connecticut who still retain a respect for the rights of the colored people, and have courage to oppose arbitrary power.

GUNPOWDER.

In the town of Europolis lived a gentleman of the name Orgilus. He was in many respects a good citizen. But he caused great alarm and anxiety to his fellow townsmen by keeping a dozen barrels of gunpowder very carelessly stowed in his cellar. His neighbors often expostulated with him upon the folly and criminality of endangering his and their lives by leaving so explosive an article, in such an exposed situation. Their remonstrances every day increased in loudness and frequency. At first he had listened to them with patient civility. But at last, he usually grew sulky and indignant, if any remarks were made in his hearing upon the delicate subject of his powder. The following is a conversation that took place between him and the occupant of a house adjoining his, when he was in one of his most sullen fits.

Eumenes. Friend Orgilus, why will you persist in keeping such a quantity of gunpowder in your cellar. You cannot imagine how much uneasiness it causes in my family.

Org. Your family forsooth. It is no business to you or your family. Have I not a right to do what I please in my own house. Suppose the powder should blow up, my house be destroyed, and I killed, whose business is it? Whosoever it may be, it is none of yours.

Eum. But, my friend, if your powder should take fire, I and my wife, and children, and others of your neighbors might be killed or maimed. The peril to which your negligence exposes us, gives us a right to expostulate.

Org. I cannot prevent your talking, but you surely ought to consider that I am fully aware of my danger,—and that the powder is a constant source of uneasiness to me. I am living every day over a mine, and yet you choose to increase the horrors of my situation by descanting upon them.

Eu. You do not mean surely to say that your real danger is increased by my mentioning it. My object in speaking is not to give you pain, but, by calling your attention to your danger, to induce you to provide a remedy.

Org. These are fine words. But I wish you to understand that henceforth I shall consider no man my friend, who vexes me with advice. Were not my father, my grandfather, and my great grandfather all in the habit of keeping powder in their cellars, and they all died in their beds. Have not I a right to expect the same end.

Eu. I do not think it necessary to reply to your exquisite logic. But you surely have not forgotten that several terrible explosions have taken place in your house, in which some of your relations have perished.

Org. What would you have me do? I want powder to shoot with. I use it in blowing rocks, and at trainings of the militia. You surely cannot reflect how much more it would cost me, if I did not keep my powder on hand.

Eu. Is a little saving of expense to be compared with constant danger of human life.

Org. Let me tell you, Eumenes, I never wish to hear another word from you on this subject. You shall not interfere with my private affairs. And if ever you darken my door again, I'll blow your brains out.

Exeunt.

According to the fashion of fables, ours requires a moral. But we prefer to leave it to our readers' ingenuity to discover the application of the tale.

A BID FOR A FREEMAN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The following spirited article is from the *Liberator*, of August 3. It is well worthy the attention of all persons who wish to understand the disposition which slavery creates in its supporters.

The copy of the following resolutions passed by the State of Georgia, was sent to us for one of the series of notes of Mr. Child's speech. But as the act has never appeared entire in the *Liberator*, and as many persons in this

quarter of the country are known to be sceptical as to its having an existence, and as others are known to suppose that it was merely offered and rejected, or at worst was adopted by one branch only of the Legislature of Georgia,—we have thought proper to give the piece a more conspicuous type and place, than it could have had among a mass of notes.

IN SENATE, November 30, 1831.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, That the sum of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid to any person or persons who shall arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State; the editor or publisher of a certain paper called the *Liberator*, published in the town of Boston, and State of Massachusetts; or who shall arrest, bring to trial and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State, any other person or persons, who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State, said paper, called the *Liberator*, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address of a seditious character.

And that his Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized and requested, to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer, for said sum of five thousand dollars, in favor of any person or persons who shall have arrested and brought to trial and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor or publisher of the *Liberator*, or who shall have arrested and brought to trial or prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State; any other person or persons, who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State, said paper called the *Liberator*, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter, or address of a seditious character.

And that these resolutions be inserted in the appropriation act.

And resolved further, That his Excellency the Governor cause the foregoing resolutions, to be published in the public journals of this State, and such other papers as he may think proper, and pay for the publication thereof, out of the contingent fund.

Read and agreed to.

THOMAS STOCKS, President.

Attest, I. L. HARRIS, Secretary.

In the House of Representatives.

Concurred in, Dec. 24, 1831.

ASBURY HULL, Speaker.

Attest, W. C. DAWSON, Clerk,

Approved, Dec. 26, 1831.

WILSON LUMPKIN, Governor.

For the murderers of Joseph White, the Governor of Massachusetts offered a reward of \$1000. Upon the head of Mr. Garrison, or of us his substitute, or of any editor or printer of this little paper, the great State of Georgia, has set five times as much! What is the design of this extraordinary offer?

It cannot be to procure *directly* the punishment of the editors and mechanics connected with this press, because either of us being within the jurisdiction of Georgia, the previously existing laws of that State might and doubtless would be applied without any necessity for this subsidiary act. But there is no probability, that any person connected intimately with this paper, would ever go to the State of Georgia, and 'the collective wisdom' of that State did not, in our opinion, take into view such a contingency.

The act then was intended to operate *out* of the State of Georgia; in other words, it was designed to procure the *abduction* of one or more of the persons therein described.

Now it matters not that it would be contrary to well settled and known principles of law, to try and punish a man in Georgia, for publishing his sentiments in Massachusetts; it matters not that those principles are in force in Georgia itself, (as far as any principles which clash with their convenience, and their passions *can* be in force there,) because when a legislature has offered in such a manner, such a sum to accomplish the preliminary object of getting the persons described into their power, there can be no doubt that they have resolved to accomplish the ulterior object! And to that end, it is more than probable, that they would ride over all legal obstructions, which even their own laws and usages might oppose thereto.

The offer then of the sum of \$5000, is to procure the abduction and *judicial murder* of any person or persons employed, now or heretofore, (even before the passage of the law, thus making it clearly *ex post facto*,) in the editing or printing of this paper! The last resolution makes the intent of this act manifest without the help of much reasoning. The Legislature of Georgia were not content with providing for the promulgation of this act in their own newspapers in the usual way; but they also provide for disseminating it through the whole country, and the world. This shows that it was intended as a notice to kidnappers. This shows that the design was ABDUCTION and MURDER, and nothing else.

What think you, citizens of Massachusetts? Have we committed any offence? Have we violated any law which it was our duty to obey? Have we not a right to your protection? Is it no part of the duty of society to protect its members?

If the 'Georgia Guard' were to march into Massachusetts, for the purpose of arresting a citizen of this State, it would be a violation of the laws of nations, and of the federal compact, which in respect to these States, superadds to the obligations of the laws of nations. But such a measure would not be half as dangerous to an individual, nor more insulting to this State, than is the above act of legislation.

The Georgia Guard, or a Georgia army, so far as they survived, would soon be in the custody of constables and executioners. But against lurking kidnappers, against those who may abuse our own laws, and the process of our own courts, to *get possession* of their victim, who can guard?

Lord Chancellor Brougham, or Mr. Buxton, has done and is doing more for the emancipation of the *Georgia* slaves, than forty newspapers can effect. Suppose Georgia, graduating her price according to the size of her victim, should offer *two hundred thousand dollars* for the kidnapping and bringing within her jurisdiction, either of those writers and members of the *London Anti-Slavery Society*? What would England do? Would she blink it? She might possibly do so from contentment. Can our government, who owe us protection, allege as honorable a motive for silence and inaction?

Ten years ago, the Greeks were slaves, but not near as many slaves, not half as unhappy or numerous as the people whose rights we advocate. At that time Daniel Webster and Henry Clay denounced Turkish tyranny in terms as severe and indignant as any that we have used in respect to American tyranny, which is much more inexcusable than Turkish. Did any body blame them? Every body applauded them except Mahmoud and his Pachas. Suppose then out of the boundless and brilliant treasures of the seraglio, the Sultan had offered a million of gold ducats to any person or association of persons, who would kidnap and drag before the court of the grand Mufti Daniel Webster or Henry Clay. Would this State have been quiet under it? Would this nation have been quiet? Every one will answer, that if they had been, they would deserve every one of them to be brought acquainted with the famous *boasting* by sentence of that same Mufti. Suppose again that a price were set by South Carolina upon the head of Gov. Lincoln for his free remarks upon *nullification*, which is merely another name for slavery, the perpetuation of slavery, and the continued and confirmed dominion of slave owners and traders;—would this government, would this people have set down quietly under such a felonious and bloody act, and left open a door for it to be consummated? Certainly not. Where is the difference between such a case and our own?—We will tell you our opinion, and we hope that if it be true, you will not be offended at it. It is that we are poor and powerless, unable by money or force to protect ourselves! if we were courted and surrounded by troops of politicians, whose hopes of loaves and fishes were wrapped up in our personal safety, if we or the printer were so conspicuous that a ruffian hand could not violate us without sending an electric shock through the community; in short, if we had that which is worshipped

here, under the names of *POWER* and *WEALTH*; then we should not remain exposed as we are; then we should not have to complain of a total disregard for our lives and welfare on the part of that government which is supported for the very purpose of protecting individuals; then would adequate protection have been provided for us long ago, and without asking it!

But time will set all these things right. If the offering up of many lives can accelerate the great work which cannot now be stopped, nor the gates of hell prevail against it, these lives will be cheerfully given.

The human mind rises as it resists oppression. The persecution of southerners and the servile acquiescence, thus far, of northerners, do but confirm us the more in our course. We say, in the language of an illustrious Englishman, 'neither friends nor foes, nor life nor death, nor thunder nor lightning shall make us give way the breadth of one hair.'

*'Cry wo, destruction, ruin, loss, dismay;
The worst is death, and death will have his day.'*

Before closing these remarks, we take the liberty to recommend the above act of Georgia to the attention of the legislature of *Connecticut*. Good precedents are a great matter in the law.

BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

A society called the *Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association for the Diffusion of Truth*, has been recently formed. It will, we trust, afford valuable aid to the great cause of justice and humanity. It is delightful to find young men engaging with zeal, in the prosecution of such objects. It is honorable to themselves, and must be useful to their country. The officers of the society are—

Rev. AMOS A. PHELPS, <i>President</i> .	
JOHN N. BARBOUR, <i>Vice President</i> .	
JOHN STIMPSON, <i>Cor. Secretary</i> .	
ALFRED NORTON, <i>Rec. Secretary</i> .	
JOHN FORD, <i>Treasurer</i> .	
GEORGE LORING,	} <i>Trustees.</i>
J. H. TENNEY,	
JOHN CUTTS SMITH,	
N. SOUTHARD.	

BOSTON MUTUAL LYCEUM.

A society with this name has been recently formed in Boston, by the colored people. They have been assisted in establishing this institution by Mr. Josiah Holbrook and other friends. The following are the names of the officers.

DUDLEY TIDD, <i>President</i> .	
JOEL W. LEWIS, <i>1st Vice President</i> .	
SARAH H. ANNIBLE, <i>2nd Vice President</i> .	
GEORGE GALL, <i>Recording Secretary</i> .	
NATH. CUTLER, <i>Cor. Secretary</i> .	
THOMAS DALTON, <i>Treasurer</i> .	
JOSEPH H. GOVER,	} <i>Managers.</i>
JOHN B. CUTLER,	
HENRY CARROLL,	
LUCY V. LEW,	
MARY WILLIAMS,	

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT NEW-HAVEN.

A Society was formed in New-Haven, on the 4th of June last, of great respectability and influence, called the New-Haven Anti-Slavery Society. The Constitution recognises the same principles as those held by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ELI IVES, M. D. *President.*
TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *1st Vice President.*
NATH. JOCELYN, *2nd Vice President.*
ROBERT B. HALL, *Secretary.*
AMOS TOWNSEND, JR. *Treasurer.*
S. S. JOCELYN,
E. A. TOWNSEND, } *Executive Committee.*
SIDNEY HALL,
HENRY A. HOMES, }

We mentioned in a former number the formation of this Society, but had not received the names of the officers at that time.

[From the London Times of July 29.]

DEATH OF WM. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

It is this day our melancholy duty to announce the death of William Wilberforce, a name with which there is probably associated more of love and veneration than ever fell to the lot of any single individual throughout the civilized globe.

At one period the sad event would have been felt as a grievous national calamity, and even now the tidings of his departure will be heard with the deepest sorrow through every part of the empire. But he worked while it was called day, remembering that the night was coming wherein no man may work. And he was not permitted to leave the scene of his labors till he beheld the great cause to which he had dedicated all the energies of his soul triumphant, and the fetters of the negro about to be struck off for ever.

[From the Weekly Recorder.]

THE COLORED MOTHER OF NEW-ENGLAND TO HER INFANT.

Smile on, my babe, thy infant mirth
Beguiles my heart awhile;
Thou hast not learned enough of earth
To know thou should not smile.
Thy sparkling eye is full of light,
Thy heart beats high with joy,
And wo or care, from morn till night,
Disturbs not thee, my boy.
Smile now—for, o'er thy coming years,
A cloud of misery bends;
Disgrace and shame, regret and tears,
Till earthly being ends.
Yes, yes—my child—that soul of thine,
Pure from its Maker's hand,
Destined, they tell us, yet to shine
In heaven, its native land;
That soul, by God's all-wise decree,
Is shrined within a form
Of human shape and symmetry,
With life-blood read and warm;
Whose skin reflects a darker hue
Than that the white man wears,

And for this cause, thy early dew
Of joy must change for tears!

For thee from childhood's gleesome hour,
Through all thy onward track,
Are hard and bitter things in store,
Because thy skin is black!

Oh! I have borne this shame about,
In bitterness and grief,
And till sweet peace a Saviour brought,
I never found relief.

A little girl, to school I went,
With heart as light as air,
And as my steps I thither bent,
I breathed my morning prayer.

Into a corner, all alone,
My place was there assigned,
My lessons, books, were all my own,
A mate I could not find.

At play, upon my lonely state,
No ray of kindness came;
They spurned me as a thing to hate,
And negro was my name.

At night I reached my mother's cot,
With heart oppressed with wo,
And from my mother's lips I sought
The cause of all to know.

She said 't was cruel prejudice,
That dwelt their breasts within,
Which caused the treatment such as this,
Of those of colored skin.

My hopes were crushed, my heart appalled,
With this most foul disgrace;
And then my teacher, stupid called
All creatures of my race!

Whene'er upon the Sabbath morn,
I've sought the house of prayer,
My soul has sunk beneath the scorn
The white man carries there.

Must thou, my child—my only one—
Must thou, too, feel the smart
Of this unjust and cruel scorn,
That withers all the heart?

For cause beyond thy weak control,
Has God for thee designed
This degradation of the soul,
This slavery of the mind?

No: scriptures say, that of one blood,
Has God created all
The nations He has spread abroad,
Upon this earthly ball.

'T is man, proud man, makes this decree
Of him of colored skin;
Who says 'he must a negro be,'
And cries, 'unclean, unclean!'

Great Father! who created all,
The colored and the fair;
Oh! listen to a mother's call,
Hear Thou, the negro's prayer.

Yet once again, thy people teach
With lessons from above,
That they may practice what they preach,
And all their neighbors love.

Again, the gospel precepts give,
Teach them this rule to know,
Such treatment as ye would receive,
Be willing to bestow.

That this, my child, my only one—
May never feel the smart
Of this unjust and cruel scorn,
That withers all the heart.